FILTH AND FEVER BILLS

OF

DUNDEE,

AND

WHAT MIGHT BE MADE OF THEM.

BY

THE REV. G. LEWIS,

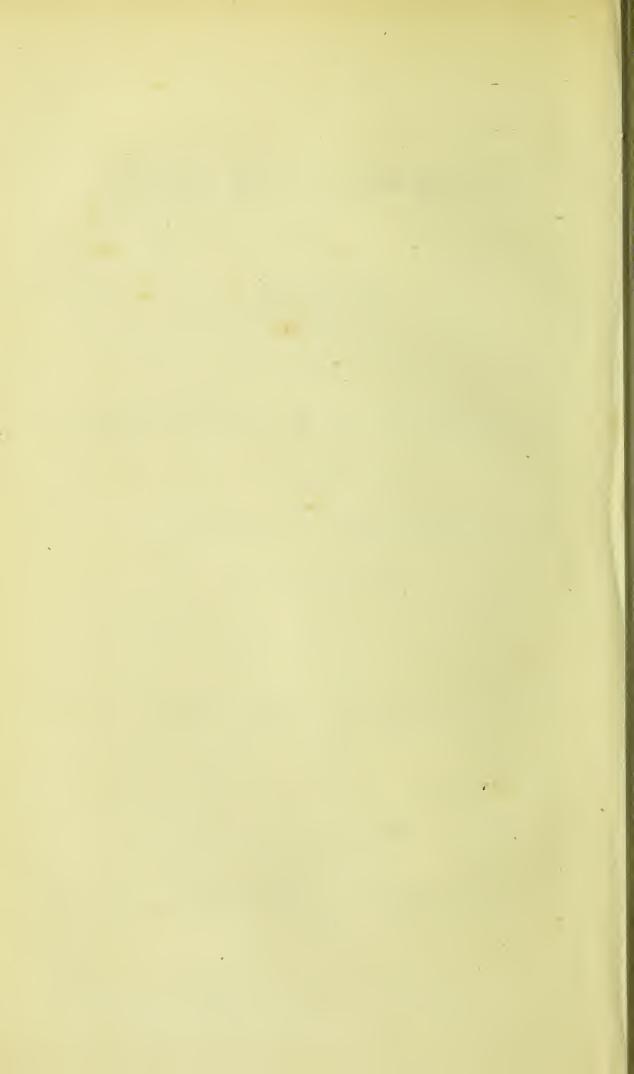
MINISTER OF ST DAVID'S.

"Cleanliness is next to godliness."—R. Hill.

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1841.



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FILTH AND FEVER BILLS OF DUNDEE.

Being lately in some of the great commercial towns of England, and having the curiosity to visit those parts of them which are inhabited by the lowest of the population, I looked in vain for the evidences of a deeper physical degradation than I meet daily in Dundee. Even in Manchester and Bolton, I was struck with the superiority in cleanliness and comfort of their most neglected districts. The shameful parts of Dundee and Glasgow seemed to me more shameful, and the neglected parts to be more utterly abandoned to the dominion of physical filth and misery. In Manchester, I saw little to equal and very much to contrast, in the abodes of its working classes, with the sights and smells that salute one every day in my own parish. In the large town of Birmingham, the superiority was still more striking. The majority of the working classes of Birmingham live in self-contained houses, comparatively few occupying cellars or garrets, and the dwellings of the very poorest wear an air of comfort which is rarely to be met in the dwellings of our poor. Here the back courts, instead of presenting accumulations of refuse and pools of water, are levelled, and so paved and flagged that the smallest filth is distinguishable, and, in fact, is not suffered to be deposited; and, whether from the cleanlier habits and better training of the population, or a more vigilant and searching police, more alive to the physical happiness and wellbeing of the community, the physical condition of the poorest lanes and courts into which I descended, presented a state of things honourable to English habits and to the English authorities, and, in its contrast, discreditable to the habits of the poor, and to the superintendence of the municipal authorities of our Scottish towns.*

Eleven and three fourths per cent. of the inhabitants of Manchester, and eight per cent. of Salford, according to the Manchester Statistical Society, live in cellars. Having read much of these cellars in the Parliamentary evidence of last session on the health of large towns, I felt anxious to compare them with our own cellar dwellings; but, damp and unwholesome as they were, I found them clean. Comfort has not wholly deserted the inmates of the cellars of Manchester. In Deansgate and George's Road, the poverty and misery of the cellar population seemed less squalid, sunken, and hopeless than in Ramsay, Smith, Dyer, or Baron's Pend in Dundee. That virtue which Rowland Hill was wont to declare to be next to godliness did not seem a lost virtue. at cleanliness, order, and decency, were visible in the meanest dwellings. Even the Irish appeared provoked to emulation by the neighbourhood of English cleanliness; and it did look as if, in the superior comfort of his

Before the Committee of the House of Commons the same gentleman said, "It is my firm belief, that penury, dirt, and misery, drunkenness, disease, and crime, culminate in Glasgow to a pitch unparalleled in Great Britain." "Is that your confirmed opinion, having seen other districts as well?"—"Perfectly." "What districts have you seen in England to compare with?"—"I have a general knowledge of the lower parts of Manchester, and some of the districts of London." "And other parts of Scotland?"—"Yes; all the large towns in the south of Scotland."

^{*}The following is the account given of the Glasgow poor by Mr Symonds, the Government Commissioner for examining into the condition of the hand-loom weavers. "The wynds in Glasgow comprize a fluctuating population of from 15,000 to 30,000 persons. This quarter consists of a labyrinth of lanes, out of which numberless entrances lead into small square courts, each with a dunghill reeking in its centre Revolting as was the outward appearance of these places, I was little prepared for the filth and destitution within. In some of these lodging-rooms (visited at night) we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor,—sometimes fifteen and twenty; some clothed and some naked; men, women, and children, huddled promiscuously together: Their bed consisted of a layer of musty straw, intermixed with rags. There was generally little or no furniture in those places: The sole article of comfort was a fire. Thieving and prostitution constitute the main sources of the revenue of this population. No pains seem to be taken to purge this Augean Pandemonium—this nucleus of crime, filth, and pestilence, existing in the second city of the empire. These wynds constitute the St Giles of Glasgow; but I owe an apology to the metropolitan Pandemonium for the comparison. A very extensive inspection of the lowest districts of other places, both here and on the Continent, never presented anything one half so bad, either in intensity of pestilence, physical and moral, or in extent proportioned to the population."

home, the Manchester mill-spinner would have fewer temptations of an evening to move off to the ale-house

or gin-shop.

The number of self-contained houses occupied by the working classes, having a front and back entrance, and both well kept, is the most striking feature of English The effect of the self-contained house, in superiority. creating a mutual rivalry in neatness and cleanliness throughout a whole neighbourhood, is its best com-The well-washed steps and lobbies, and the never-failing white curtain and flower-box, discover the interest each English housewife has in the honour of her own homestead. The three, four, and five storied houses of our Scottish towns, with their common stair and close, are fatal to this useful emulation. The streets inhabited by the poor consist of a front line of dwellings, behind which lie a mass of houses, accessible by closes, pends, or courts, without any thoroughfare; and these front steadings form a line of defence against the air and light of heaven, as impenetrable as the squares of Waterloo to the bayonets of France. The closes or courts by which they are approached it is nobody's business to keep clean. The common stairs and common lobbies, like other commons, having too many mistresses, are as much neglected as if they had none at all; and the three and four storied houses of Scotland, by quenching emulation, tend to reduce the best housewives to the level of the worst. These neglected pends and closes become the nurseries of fever and small-pox to the rest of the town. One family attacked, the disease passes from inmate to inmate, and from house to house, until it exhaust its virulence, by having exhausted its bare and squalid victims. Here, too, fever lingers after abandoning all healthier localities, and is ready to break forth anew on every return of this periodical scourge of Dundee.

Of the intimate connexion between filth and fever, I shall allow Dr Southwood Smith, physician to the London Fever Hospital, in his report, in 1838, to the Poor Law Commissioners of England, to speak.

[&]quot;The exhalations which accumulate in close, ill-ventilated, and crowded apartments in the confined situations of densely populated cities, where no attention is paid to the removal of putrifying and excrementations substances, consist chiefly of animal matter. Such exhalations contain a poison which produces continued fever of

the typhoid character. There are situations in which the poison generated is so intense and deadly that a single inspiration of it is capable of producing instantaneous death; there are others in which a few inspirations of it are capable of destroying life in from two to twelve hours; and there are others, again—as in dirty and neglected ships—in damp, crowded, and filthy gaols—in the crowded wards of ill-ventillated hospitals, filled with persons labouring under malignant surgical diseases and some forms of typhus fever—in the crowded, filthy, close, unventilated, damp, undrained habitations of the poor—in which the poison generated, although not so immediately fatal, is still too potent to be long-breathed, even by the most healthy and robust, without producing fever of a highly dangerous and mortal character. But it would be amost inadequate view of the pernicious agency of this poison if it were restricted to the diseases commonly produced by its direct operation. It is a matter of constant observation, that, even when not present in sufficient intensity to produce fever, by disturbing the functions of some organ or set of organs, and thereby weakening the general system, this poison acts as a powerful predisposing cause of some of the most common and fatal maladies to which the human body is subject." Dr S. Smith then proceeds to show, that, by deranging the digestive organs, it is the predisposing cause of stomach disorders, inflammation, and consumption, and concludes—"I, then, as is commonly computed, of the total number of deaths that take place annually over the whole surface of the globe, nearly one half is caused by fever in its different forms, to this sum must be added the number who perish by diseases caused by the constant operation of the poison."—Report of Dr Southwood Smith.

But apart altogether from the waste of human life, and the indescribable suffering and sorrow which annually fall upon the working classes of Dundee from this periodical scourge, and viewed only as a merematter of profit and loss to the mercantile and monied interest of Dundee, it were easy to demonstrate, that the expenditure of several thousand pounds per annum, in providing the means of cleanliness to this town, in the better cleansing of its streets, but, above all, of its back closes, courts, and lanes, and the clearing away of those pestilential masses of building which lie concealed from view behind the front lines of some of our principal streets, would have been rewarded by a saving to the community of a vast sum, which the ravages of disease and death have been, for the last few years, compelling Dundee to pay in a way its inhabitants think not of. That this may appear, I have brought into one table the number of cases of fever during the last seven years.

Cases of Fever in Dundee during the last seven years, from 1833 to 1839, inclusive, calculated from the Bills of Mortality according to the proportion of nine cases to each death.*

Year.		Cases.			Deaths.	
1833		1188	•	•	132	
1834		1521	•	•	169	
1835		1179	•	•	131	
1836		2673		•	297	
1837		1881	•	•	209	
1838	•	1773	•		197	
1839	•	1593	•		177	
						
7 ye	ars.	11,808 ca	ases.		1312 death	ıs.

Thus, in seven years, fever has fallen on much more than a tithe of the inhabitants,—choosing its victims here, as elsewhere, in the manhood of life, and compelling the citizens of Dundee to pay a tax frightful in the amount of personal sufferings and family bereavements.

But it were a mistake to imagine that the sufferings and death of so many citizens are the only tithes which fever has compelled us to pay during the last seven years. Put wholly aside the details of domestic woe and personal suffering which 11,808 cases of fever have introduced into the families of Dundee in these seven years—omit all reckoning of the watching, want, and wretchedness, wrapped up in so many cases of acute disease, and the family bereavements implied in these 1312 deaths—and let us view for a moment our fellow-creatures but as so many machines suspended from work by the derangement or destruction of the human machinery, that we may learn something of the probable money loss incurred by fever in these seven years.

From Dr Southwood Smith, the highest authority on these subjects, we learn that fully one half of the cases of fever occur in the prime of life, when men are most useful either to their families or to society. Deducting then the 1312 deaths from the whole number of cases, there will remain 10,496 cases of fever, the one half of whom, at least, were adults,—that is, 5248 persons in the prime of life, very many of them heads of families, had fever in these seven years. Now, the average period fever detains a patient from work, according to the

House of Commons on the health of large towns

I have been deeply indebted to Dr Matthew Nimmo of the Royal
Infirmary of Dundee, in preparing the Fever and Mortality Tables.

^{*} This is the proportion assigned by Dr Southwood Smith in his work on fever, and in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the health of large towns

ings in health of these adults at the average of 8s. weekly; and the loss of wages to these 5248 adults, by six weeks' fever, amounts to 12,595l.; and this after excluding all under age, and all the deaths. But these cases, whether treated at home or in the Infirmary, must be also loaded with the expense of medical treatment, which is estimated in our Infirmary reports at 1l. to each case,—that is, 5248l. must be added to the loss by wages. But 5248 cases of those under age remain to be accounted for; and, as fever rarely attacks mere children, but chiefly those either in manhood or approaching manhood, we may estimate the loss of their labour at the one half of the adults or 6297l. 12s., and the expense of attendance and recovery at one half also or 2624l.

But how shall we estimate the pecuniary loss of 1312 deaths? It seems a strange thing to go about, estimating the money value of that, which money did not give, and cannot restore when taken away; yet, as there are those who understand better a profit and loss account than the arguments of religion and humanity, we shall attempt to estimate the money loss of these

1312 deaths by fever.

At least one half, or 656 of these deaths, were deaths of adults, and very many of them heads of families, of which the 337 widows in St David's parish afford melancholy evidence. Professor Macculloch, viewing a human being as a productive machine, reared to last for a certain time, and to return so much more than he costs, estimates a full-grown workman, just arrived at the maturity of his strength, as having 300l. of capital vested in him. We shall suppose, however, the money value of these male and female adults to be just the one half of this, or 150l., which makes the loss, by the premature death of these 656 adults, to be 98,400l.; and, if the remaining 656 under the age of maturity, yet approaching it, be taken at the half of the adults, or 75l. each, we have a loss of 49,200l. more; to which, if we add 1l. a piece, or 1312l. in all, for attendance and medical expenses, the Fever Bill of Dundee, during the last seven years, will stand as follows.

Fever Bill of Dundee from 1833 to 1839.

Loss of labour for six weeks of 5248 adults, at 8s.		
a week, L,12,595	Ø	0
Attendance, medicine at home or Infirmary, at 11.	Λ	0
Loss of labour for six weeks of 5248 under age, at	0	U
4s. a week, 6,297	12	0
Expense of treatment of the above at Infirmary or		
home, at 10s. a piece,	0	0
Loss by death of 656 adults, at 150l each, 98,400	0	0
-Loss by 656 deaths under age, at 75l. a piece, 49.200	0	0
Treatment of 1312 cases, at 1l. each, 1. 1.312	0	0
L.175.676	12	0

Or 25,096l. 13s. per annum.

Very likely, some are ready to dismiss this Fever Bill with the laugh and jest, that we might as well estimate the loss by every species of disease to which flesh is heir, and present an account of the entire gain to the community were disease and death for ever abolished. But the Fever Bill of Dundee is not to be got rid of by a jest. The poor, we are told, we shall always have with us, and so with disease and death. Yet the evils, both of poverty and disease, come in very different measures to different communities. As there is a poverty that is self-inflicted and may be self-removed, so there is a certain amount of disease and annual mortality in every city that is self-inflicted; and the community that does not strive, by every available means, to reduce its disease and mortality bills to the lowest sum of human suffering, and the lowest rate of annual mortality, is as guilty of suicide, as the individual who, Judas like, takes with his own hands the life God has given, and hurries unbidden into the presence of his Judge. The fever bills of the Scottish towns, contrasted with those of the English commercial towns, declare too plainly that man has not yet done his part in Dundee to avert this scourge of society; and, while fever is undoubtedly to be regarded as the visitation of God, it is also to be re-

^{*} We observe that the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, at a meeting, have resolved to present a memorial to Government, representing the necessity of their instituting a searching inquiry into the causes and extent of the destitution and misery which exists in Scotland, affecting, as it does, the well-being of all ranks of society, by leading directly to the deterioration of morals, the increase of crime, and the spreading of contagious diseases. The more searching this inquiry the better. We should like to see a memorial from the Medical Faculty in Dundee to the same effect. None know better the state of the population.

garded as the visitation of God for the sin of neglecting a population fallen in character and habits. In the great English towns, fever has been diminishing, and that too amidst an increasing population. In the great towns of Scotland, it has been increasing at a frightful rate with the increasing population. Dr Cowan of Glasgow has shown, that, whilst the annual average of fever deduced from seven years, ending 1836, in Glasgow, with a population of 200,000 souls, was 1842 cases, it was—

			Population	1.	
In Manchester,	•	•	228.000	•	only 497 cases.
In Leeds,	•	•	123,400	•	only 274 cases.
In Newcastle, .	•	•	58,000	•	only 39 cases.

And while in Glasgow the average fever cases treated in hospitals between 1797 and 1806 was only 88, and has since increased to 1842 cases, in Manchester the average has stood nearly the same, notwithstanding the increase in its population, having been 462 in the early period, and only 497 recently.

The mortality bills of Dundee speak the same language. In the following table are given the deaths in seven years, and the rate to the population,—supposing the inhabitants in 1831 to have been 45,355 souls, and to have increased about 2000 annually, until 1839, when from bad trade the increase was checked.

					Propo	rtion of Deaths
Years.		Deaths.	I	Population,		ne Population.
1833	•	1482	•	49.355		1 in 33.3
1834	•	1650		51,355		1 in 31.1
1835		1673	•	53 355	•	1 in 31.9
1836	•	1923	9	55,355	•	1 in 28.8
1837	•	1963		57,355		1 in 29.2
1838	•	1511		59,355	•	1 in 39.3
1839		1763		59,355	•	1 in 33.7
		11,965		385,485		1 in 32.2

Thus, the average mortality in Dundee, during the last seven years, was 1 in 32 annually; whilst the average annual mortality of England and Wales was 1 in 48, and over all Scotland 1 in 45; and in the healthiest and best-conditioned districts so low as 1 in 51 and 55. Here, then, in Dundee, the deaths annually are at least one fourth more than over the rest of Scotland, Glasgow excepted, which seems to surpass Dundee in the waste of human life. If the deaths are a fourth greater, those diseases which are its harbingers must be many times

greater than the deaths; and to this extent, at least, it was in the power of human means to have provided a remedy,—to have abated by one fourth the physical suffering and mortality of Dundee, saved 2952 persons from fever and 328 persons from premature death, and reduced by a fourth part the pecuniary loss incurred during the last seven years,—in other words, to have saved 43,919l., or 6274l. annually, to the profit and loss account of this city in the

single item of fever.

The statistics of small-pox in Dundee might be added to this bill of charges. It is sufficient, however, to allude to it. Last year, the deaths by small-pox were 77. 1838, they were also 77; and in 1837, they amounted to 126. The number of cases, of course, must have been many times the deaths; by far the greater number under age and unvaccinated,—a neglect no longer confined to the Irish population. In Glasgow, according to the last report, almost all the cases of small-pox of late have been among the Scotch, and very few amongst the Irish, as if the Scotch were declining in affectionate foresight in behalf of their offspring, and the Irish were advancing in this ancient Scottish virtue. Dr Gibson of this city examined 237 children attending St David's parish schools, and found 25 unvaccinated. Of these 25 unvaccinated children, 13 took the small-pox, and only 4 that were vaccinated out of the 212 took them. Of course, this is only a specimen of St David's parish, and a very small one,—the whole parish containing 2079 children between the ages of 5 and 14. Of 1333 children indiscriminately taken from St David's, St Peter's, Greenfield, Wallace, Craigie, and Lilybank schools, 55 males were unvaccinated, and 130 females,—in all, 185.

But it is enough to have pointed to this new source of physical suffering and waste of life in Dundee. We forbear details and calculations, and we pass on to the question, Whence this difference in the fever bills of the

English and Scottish towns?

Though I am no medical authority, yet I am sure that I have every medical authority with me when I connect, as foremost amongst the causes of the enormous Fever Bill of Dundee that monstrous Tavern Bill, which last lecture I showed you was the worm in the bud of the happiness and well-being of its working classes. That Tavern Bill, according to the mean of

three different estimates, amounts to 21,234l. a year in my parish alone, and to 180,000l. a year to all Dundee. In vain we cry out against the taxation of Government. While the words of complaint are on our lips, here is a vice of continual tasting and tippling in strong drink,—a private self-imposed tax, but heavier far than any public It is this besetting sin that has been not only devouring the substance of the poor, but every year sowing the seeds of that enormous Fever Bill, which for the last seven years has been taxing us not only in purse, but in person,—compelling every tenth man in Dundee during that period to pay the wages of six weeks' labour, and to suffer all the langour, sickness, and oppression of six weeks' fever, besides the bereaved widows and orphans, and the fatherless and motherless children it has left in Dundee.

To the monstrous Tavern Bill of our Scottish towns. is also to be traced the squalid filth of person and dwellings among so many of the poor. The inmates of many dwellings need no infection from which to catch disease. Their own persons and homes are themselves the sources and centres of infection to their respective neighbourhoods. A layman told me but the other day, that, entering one of these abodes of filth in my own parish, he grew sick with the sights and smells, and was obliged to retreat from the abode of loathsome misery. Thus are the wealthy and educated classes repelled from visiting the poor; and while in England poverty and cleanliness are often to be seen meeting together, in our towns, I grieve to say, that the meeting is so rare that we stop to admire it and to hold it up to imitation. A woman holding out her dirty hand for charity to Dean Swift, "Go wash it," was the reply: "Washing is cheap; I will put nothing into such a dirty hand." So the rich feel, whether they express it or not; and nothing so closes the heart against deeds of charity, and repels the rich from the dwellings of the poor, as this frequent alliance in the towns of Scotland between poverty and filth.

But herein the rich and influential classes are not guiltless. To them as guardians are intrusted the formation of better habits amongst the poor: To them it belongs, by public regulation, to take order that cleanliness is enforced wherever public authority can reach: Theirs

it is to stimulate indifference and rebuke indolence—to rouse emulation, and to bring within the reach of all the means of cleanliness. Instead of this, Dundee is too like the cup and platter of the ancient Pharisee outside clean, but its closes, courts, and pends unswept and unvarnished. When Swift would ascertain the merits of a housewife, he looked not into the parlour. which none but an absolute slattern would leave unswept, but climbed to the garrets or descended to the cellars, which the thorough housewife alone, would keep trimmed and tidy. Let our Scottish towns be tried, not by their great thoroughfares, or places of public resort, where neglect meets instant rebuke, but by the closes and alleys unseen and unvisited, except by their own inhabitants; and I fear that Swift would have pronounced the Magistrates and Police Commissioners of Dundee but indifferent housewives. There may be those who think that such matters degrade the function and dignity of a magistrate, and that our civic rulers have got other matters in hand than to penetrate into the haunts of poverty and filth, and see how the besom has done its work. But on filth hangs fever, and on fever untimely death; and is it not the primary office of all magistrates, from the sovereign to the humblest functionary, to guard health and life, whether "from the arrow that flieth by day, or the pestilence that walketh in darkness?" The great Theban general of old, when a time of peace stripped him of his high command, was degraded, by those who hated and thought to humble the warrior, to the office of Superintendent of the Scavengers of Thebes: But the great man showed his greatness in his descent: He put new life into the scavengers, as he had done before into the soldiers of Thebes, and instituted a system of regulations which rendered Thebes, under its Epaminondas, the neatest and cleanliest of Grecian cities. A greater than Epaminondas, our own Wellington, did not think it beneath his attention a few years ago to lend the aid of his sound judgment and powerful influence to arrange the details and carry into effect those many intersections of the densest parts of London which have opened up to the air and light of heaven the dwellings of poverty, and which are rendering one of the largest, also one of healthiest of cities.

"There is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty." Economy must begin here by expenditure—by cleansing the nurseries of disease and pestilence in the heart of our cities. Whether this is to be done by Parliamentary or municipal efforts, humanity and policy alike require that it be done speedily. To lay open our back courts and pends to the light and air of heaven, will be as blessed to the bodies, as the light of the gospel to the souls, of the poor. The children attending an infant school being asked, "What was the use of bugs in our houses?" a little boy answered with equal simplicity and truth, "To make Betty clean the cupboard!" Messrs Kirby and Spence, in their interesting work on Entomology, tell us the same thing in a more elegant way, when they describe the insects of hot climates as the scavengers of Nature, and the persecution which the inhabitants endure from their stings as the penalty they pay to these scavengers for the speedier removal of its putrid animal and vegetable matter. The same mysterious Providence that provideth the insect scavengers, has armed the fever and small-pox with their powers of tenfold vengeance on the community that leaves its lower population to be the victims of ignorance, filth, and dissipation; and the answer of the school-boy may be again repeated to the question, "What are the uses of fever and small-pox?" -To enforce public and private cleanliness and foresight; and to compel the rich and favoured classes to feel, by the approach of disease to themselves and their families, that they are charged with the keeping of their poorer brethren, and that God will not suffer any class of society long to neglect with impunity the duties he has laid on them.

I am ignorant of the civic politics of Dundee, and wish to remain in ignorance; but of one thing every one has heard, even the very little children in the streets; and that is of a question called "The Water Question of Dundee." Little short of 25,000l., I understand, has been spent on this water question; and still this first necessary of life, of comfort, and of cleanliness, is wanting, both in quantity and quality, to the poor of Dundee. Clouds and tempests there have been, I fear, more than enough; but clouds without water and wind without rain. The 25,000l. is gone, but has purchased neither

rain nor dew during these many years; and, so far as can be seen along the whole horizon, there is as yet no sound nor sight of rain nor distant cloud rising, to give hope to the poor of Dundee of abundance of water.

It is recorded of an old Scottish laird, whose ruling passion was strong even in death, that he called to his dying bed his son and heir, to give his dying advice about the management of the estate when he was gone. "Be sure," said the old laird, "to be aye planting a tree now and then; for when you are sleeping it will be growing." But the lairds and lairds' sons of Dundee, instead of planting trees under which they might sit, or digging wells of whose waters they might drink, have planted amongst us trees of discord, and dug wells of contention, which have yielded no water but the waters of bitterness. I read in the Bible of a water question too; but I read also of its peaceful settlement. The servants of Isaac digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water; but the herdsmen of Gerar strove with Isaac's herdsmen, saying "The water is ours:" And Isaac called the name of the well Esek,—i. e., Contention, because they strove with him. But Isaac was a man of peace, and his servants went and digged another well, and the herdsmen of Gerar strove for that also; and he called the name of the second well Sitnah, or Hatred. But Isaac was not only a man of peace, but a man of perseverance. He removed from thence, and digged yet another well; and for this well we read "they strove not," and he called the name of it Rehoboth, that is Room; for the Lord maketh room for peace and perseverance, and made him fruitful in the land. there are some Isaacs in Dundee—men of peace, who, though they have been striven out of two wells already by the herdsmen of Abimelech, will yet try again, and dig in peace a third well, that the poorest may be supplied in abundance with the first element of health and social comfort—when the names of Esek and of Sitnah —of Contention and Hatred—shall be heard no more, but the well shall be called Rehoboth, for truly there is Room in Dundee.

J. Duff, Printer, Dundee.

